nevertheless the type of behaviour which is normal between Labour Recruiter and African is dictated by the pattern of behaviour of African to Administrator. The Yao find it extremely difficult to separate out their attitudes to these different types of social personalities and the main reason is that they tend to categorise all White people into a general class "Whites" of whom the most common representative to them is the Administrator.

It is, however, impossible to consider the Administrator without reference to the African Civil Service. I am using this phrase to mean those Africans who are in constant and direct interaction with the Administrator. I include the clerks, interpreters, messengers, policemen, and other intermediaries between the Administrator himself and the people. Probably of major importance is the interpreter who speaks directly to the people on behalf of the Administrator. In Southern Nyasaland the official language is Nyanja and officials are expected to learn it for their official business. Some of the Yao men in the area under study can understand and speak Nyanja but some men cannot and certainly most women cannot do so. Therefore, the tendency is for the Administrators to make use of interpreters in dealings with the Yao and other peoples in the area. The Administrators do not interact directly with various social personalities but do so rather through either their own civil service or through the N.A.'s Bureaucracy who, being educated, are able to speak and understand the official language. The Administrators are in direct interaction with their own Civil Service and only in indirect interaction with the other social personalities in the political structure.

The African Civil Service stands for a set of White values and for this reason is placed in the "Whites Values" part of the diagram. The African Civil servant represents the District Commissioner or Agricultural Officer to the tribesman. The Tax Clerk, while he is collecting taxes, is part of the system of the Administrator. The Agricultural Capitao (African official) represents the Agricultural Officer to the villager when he instructs him in the building of contour ridges.

[See p. 152 — Analyst]

647 Therefore the African Civil Service has behind
648 it the very powerful set of sanctions of the Administration, both legal and eventually military, so that it is possible for a young Agricultural Demonstrator to resist a chief and be impertinent to him. The Demonstrator acting thus knows that he has the force of the White Administration behind him. He knows that he is able to report to the Agricultural Officer if the chief refuses to carry out instructions. The African Civil Service too, are outside the reach of the chief's power of punishment save where sanctioned by law. It was possible for a certain clerk of the District Commissioner while on tour, to sleep with the divorced wife of the chief—a thing which no villager would have dared to do for fear of the wrath of the chief. The African Civil Service is also the correct channel of approach to an Administrator. Should a villager wish to see the District Commissioner he must first approach the messengers and interpreters before they are taken to the District Commissioner. The strong position of the African Civil Service in the situation is quite obvious.

448 The Administrator, through the mediation of his African Civil Service, interacts with the chief, the village headmen, and the villager in different situations. Probably in all, the greater part of the Administrator's role of tribal Africans is spent in interaction with the chief. This interaction is occasioned by their respective positions in the political structure. The Administrator may discuss with the chief such things as the Treasury, the general food situation, the court cases, some unsatisfactory feature of the chief's administration. The Administrator may interact with village headmen in the same sort of way over specific points of common interest. The Agricultural Officer may reprove the village headman for the existence of some mound-gardens in some of the village gardens, the District Commissioner upbraid him on the general state of disrepair in the village. Finally, the villager may approach the

9 Mitchell E-1 (1946-1947) 1949
[P.155B] FT? Tao FT?

693 The chiefs are also able more successfully to press their claims to certain gifts from visiting Europeans, particularly in articles which are difficult for Africans to obtain—for example, cartridges. One chief uses his rifle to shoot game and the meat is peddled round the villages by one of his servants. Some are also able to make use of the services of remand prisoners and other villagers in their gardens, thus growing more food and sometimes more of cash crops as tobacco. Other chiefs are able to use their salaries as capital and employ labourers to cultivate tobacco and other cash crops. A few returned labour migrants make small gift payments to the chief.

693 The main duty of the chief is the arbitration in
692 disputes. The Native Courts Ordinance established two classes of native courts, called respectively A and B courts, which differ in their powers. Under the same Ordinance court assessors who are remunerated from Native Treasury funds, were appointed.

693 The Native Authority's bureaucracy is made
● 697 up of a large assortment of functionaries and officials, including in the largest court, (Kawinga's), 6 court assessors, 1 court clerk, 1 assistant court clerk, 1 community worker, 1 forest guard, 1 agricultural demonstrator, 1 sanitary inspector, 9 court messengers, 2 caretakers, 4 gazetta men, [1] 1 market clerk, 1 market sweeper. Other Native Authorities also have well inspectors. These people are remunerated from the Native Treasury and the most highly paid is usually the court clerk. I do not intend to deal in detail with the duties of each but I shall deal with the more important of them and make some general remarks about their position in the structure.

693 The court assessors are supposed to assist in
695 arbitrating cases. Under the old system there were both councillors, **ndunas**, and court assessors, **mapanga**, (see p. 144). There is not sufficient provision for the remuneration of both councillors and court assessors in the modern system and there has been a general alteration in their functions. Some of the old councillors are no longer

8:Mitchell E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7
[P.155C]

647
493 [illegible]

693 paid by the chief but still advise him, and retain
695 much of the prestige due to their rank, which is inherited. Others have been incorporated as court assessors though they may not actually take part in the duties. Some now combine both sets of duties and function both as councillors and court assessors. Some of the duties of both sets of officials, however, have been taken over by the court clerk and other court functionaries. Although the position of court assessor was part of the old tribal structure, modern court assessors see themselves as occupying a position in a structure largely of White fashioning. I once heard a court assessor when conducting an enquiry into a case of adultery, cut short the preliminary of a witness saying: "None of those long stories. We are conducting this case according to the custom of the Whites."

More illuminating still is the position that the court clerks occupy in the modern structure. [212] They are differentiated from the vast majority of the population because they are literate. All of them have been educated, usually in a mission [563] school. A high proportion of them are Ngoni because more Ngoni are Christian (hence educated) than Yao (see p. 131). Because he can read and write, the chief court clerk is the medium through which the chief expresses himself in writing and the medium through which he gets written information from the Administration and others. The court clerk is therefore in a unique position of knowing all the business that comes into the chief's hand by letter. He, of course, must also write the replies so that he has a very good knowledge of what is going on in the territory. In addition, because of his education and knowledge of the ways of the White people the court clerk often makes a better councillor than the uneducated and naive traditional councillor does. Therefore in certain matters the court clerk, rather than the councillor, is the chief's most important adviser.

693 The various other officials have different
697 functions to perform, frequently of a semi-technical nature. There are sanitary inspectors, well inspectors, etc. The court orderly who is present at the cases now performs many of the

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647 duties which the court assessor used to in past days. The correct channel of approach to the chief now is through the court sergeant.

In most situations where the chief's orders are to be carried out, the various members of his bureaucracy execute them. For example, when the chief wants some duty to be performed by the villagers, it is the court sergeant or messenger who sees to it. The messengers carry out the instructions and wishes of the chief to all parts of his territory. To the villagers, therefore, the N.A.'s bureaucracy represent the chief when acting as his agent but they also represent the White Administration because much of their interaction with the villagers is in terms of some regulations based upon White values. The court clerk who apprehends a villager and charges him with being in possession of an unlicensed dog is acting, in the eyes of the villager, not so much as an agent of the chief, but rather as an agent of the chief representing the Administration. The sanitary inspector may explain to the man who has been charged with having no latrine, "It is the law that you should have one", and by this he means the White law.

3. *The Position of the Subordinate Native Authorities*

643 I have not yet considered the position of the
649 S.N.A.'s in the structure. In the diagram[3] they are represented as a separate interactional system. The reason why they have been represented thus, is because the S.N.A.'s regard themselves as autonomous units and in no way an integral part of the main interactional system under a chief. Each S.N.A. has his own sub-court and a small bureaucracy of his own. He sets up a replica of the situation under the chief. Each S.N.A. has the insignia of rank that the chief has: he is given the same greeting; wears the red band around his head; holds initiation ceremonies, etc. Each S.N.A. has the duty of making a sacrifice to the ancestors before and after the rains. A recent theft of a sacrificial cloth hung on a tree-shrine in a S.N.A.'s area was held to endanger the rainfall in that area alone. The chief in the area makes use of his position in the structure in relation to the Administration to bring pressure

3 [See p. 152 — Analyst]